

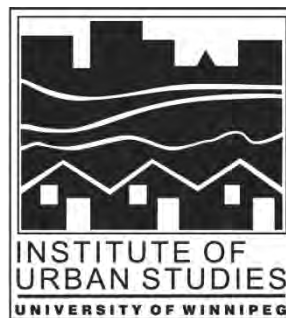
# **Roosevelt Park Redevelopment**

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**by Lloyd Axworthy  
ca. 1970**

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**The Institute of Urban Studies**





THE UNIVERSITY OF  
WINNIPEG

**FOR INFORMATION:**

***The Institute of Urban Studies***

The University of Winnipeg  
599 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg  
phone: 204.982.1140  
fax: 204.943.4695  
general email: [ius@uwinnipeg.ca](mailto:ius@uwinnipeg.ca)

*Mailing Address:*

***The Institute of Urban Studies***

The University of Winnipeg  
515 Portage Avenue  
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 2E9

**ROOSEVELT PARK REDEVELOPMENT**

Published ca. 1970 by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg  
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Note: The cover page and this information page are new replacements, 2015.

The Institute of Urban Studies is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner. The Institute examines inner city, environmental, Aboriginal and community development issues. In addition to its ongoing involvement in research, IUS brings in visiting scholars, hosts workshops, seminars and conferences, and acts in partnership with other organizations in the community to effect positive change.

ROOSEVELT PART REDEVELOPMENT

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The Area

Roosevelt Park is a small district located in the middle of Urban Renewal Area II in downtown Winnipeg. The name comes from a playground centred in the area. The population is basically working people, with a large number of families and individuals on welfare. There is a high percentage of older people, mainly single, living in rooming houses. There is a mixture of population groups, with recent settlement by Portuguese and Italians and Indian and Metis. The housing stock ranges from a few good units to many sub-standard units. The area has a high incidence of disease and social problems and is consequently served by many social agencies.

The area has been designated for urban renewal for over twenty years, yet very little in the way of government action has been taken. The result is that the area has suffered not only from the difficulties inherent in its conditions as a declining neighbourhood, but also from the paralysis of not knowing what to expect in an area designated for renewal that never comes. As far back as 1949, the Gerson Report recommended that small scale rehabilitation and improvement could be introduced in Urban Renewal Area II, even without a major urban renewal plan. Successive reports supported the idea, but as of 1969 no action of any kind had been taken. And, in fact, public services and amenities such as streets, highways and boulevards had been allowed to deteriorate. It has been a community constantly under study, constantly talked about, and constantly ignored.

The Concept

In the summer and fall of 1969, the Institute of Urban Studies planned a pilot project to test whether more effective methods of neighbourhood renewal could be developed and implemented. General reconnaissance and discussion with residents was carried out in several parts of the area. Discussions were held with city and federal officials involved in renewal, members of social agencies and churches working in the inner city and with a range and variety of residents. The point of the discussions was to assess what the different government agencies and social organizations were doing, what the role of the Institute might be in developing new approaches to renewal and what response this would receive in the community.

This preliminary reconnaissance indicated that there was an interest on the part of residents in rejuvenating the area, but they felt that there was no agency or organization interested in the job. The social agencies in the area tended to concentrate on specific issues or on problem families and were not available to work for general improvement and renewal. Also, there was a distrust of government generated by years of neglect. Another important fact gleaned from this initial assessment was the lack of information. Most people talked to had little knowledge of what was happening to the area, what resources or programs might be available to them to bring about change.

From the survey it appeared that the most useful experiment would be to begin a pilot scheme in the Roosevelt Park area to test ways of undertaking community renewal.

The design of the project undertaken by the Institute began with the following purposes:

- 1) to test the possibility of having residents involved in the planning of their community;
- 2) to test how private professionals and other community resources could be allied to projects of community-based planning;
- 3) to test new organizational forms on the neighbourhood level for carrying out community purposes;
- 4) to test ways of assessing user needs in planning;
- 5) to test different approaches, in low-cost housing, examining various techniques of financing, construction and rehabilitation;
- 6) to test new methods of educational, social and economic activity of benefit to the community.

In general, these elements were a composite testing of the ways that an inner city neighbourhood could initiate and carry out its own redevelopment, using a mixture of public and private resources.

The process used in carrying out this project followed the guidelines of action research. The staff of the Institute would be involved with the community in the search for improvements, would observe, record, assess the process and share their information with residents, would present ideas and receive ideas back from residents, would work with residents on different strategies, would formulate and conduct different programs and generally support a scheme of community centered problem-solving. From this involvement would come an understanding of the process and the opportunity to introduce and try innovative techniques in planning, communicating, or building. It was mutual experiment by university staff and neighbourhood people in testing the application of knowledge to practical problems, a

partnership in seeking constructive change and understanding how and why such change occurs.<sup>1</sup> A good description of this mode of action research is supplied by Robin Marris. "By action research we mean the involvement of representatives of the group as actors in a situation whose dynamic we simultaneously undertake to study."<sup>2</sup>

This indicates that, in fact, the project was testing another question unrelated to neighbourhood redevelopment - the role of the university in socially useful research. There is a continuous debate within the university and without over its place in the community. There is strong opinion that the university should confine itself to traditional roles of teaching and basic academic research. On the other hand, there is increasing discontent of many students, faculty and certainly non-academic people over the apparent irrelevancy of the university to many critical problems faced by the community. One answer is for the university to engage in community related research where it attempts to assist the community by applying a thoughtful approach to the solution of problems.<sup>3</sup> From this can come both direct, tangible improvements and the kind of analysis and understanding useful in determining new policies and programs. So, in effect, the capacity of the university to perform this kind of function was a prime element in this first project undertaken by the institute.

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1. See, Nevitt Sanford "Whatever Happened to Action Research". Journal of Social Issues. Vol. 26, No. 4, Autumn 1971.
  2. Marris, R., "The Role of the Business-Like Organization in the Technology of Social Change" in Social Innovation in the City. (ed. Richard Rosenbloom and Robin Marris, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1970.)
  3. See "Submission to Commission on the Rationalization of University Research" I.U.S. November, 1971.

## First Steps

The beginning of the project was to plan and design a strategy of entry into the area. Informal talks were begun with residents and groups in the area. At the same time, what statistical data and information available on the area was compiled. Thirty-five University of Winnipeg students from a volunteer group of close to 100 were selected and given training in methods of community contact. This involved role playing, using VTR, discussing renewal and planning and trial field activities under supervision of trained community workers. The approach to be used by the students was that they were not to impose their ideas on how to renew the area, but to offer to assist residents who wanted to become involved in a renewal effort.

At the same time, a group of private professional people was recruited to form a technical advisory group. This group included several architects, a planner, a geographer, an economist, a mortgage consultant, a banker, a builder, a lawyer, a government official and a social worker. The role of this group was to examine the various development possibilities in the Roosevelt Park area and then be in a position to assist and advise the residents. This group recruited 10 students from the environmental studies faculty at the University of Manitoba to begin a technical survey of land use and property ownership in the area.

The technical group, as the project progressed, demonstrated a high degree of commitment to the project. Equally important, several have continued to act as advisors over the past two and a half years of work with citizens in the area and have made invaluable contributions. The motivation for their involvement seems twofold. First, a concern to do something for the community. Secondly, a chance to break out of the

conventional pattern of their professions and become involved in innovation and new thought.<sup>4</sup>

The work by this group points to a source of very useful skills. There are limitations of such a volunteer group as they are usually busy in their own careers. But, they can supply specialized assistance on a continuous basis when such assistance is required and appear pleased to do so.

#### Community Survey

Beginning in December and carrying through January and February, the students from the University of Winnipeg, under supervision of a community worker from the Institute and a volunteer social worker, undertook a door-to-door visit in the Roosevelt Park area. The purpose of these visits was to make contact with the residents, gauge the feelings and interests of residents on the issue of renewal and acquire information. A questionnaire was prepared by two members of the technical advisory group, one research officer with the Community Welfare Planning Council, the other a social worker with experience in the area. The questionnaire was designed to simply acquire basic information about the residents and to assess degrees of commitment to the area and interest in becoming involved in a community effort at renewal. The most important reason for the visits, however, was to make contact and explore with residents the possibility of a community renewal program. Part of this was achieved by guaranteeing each person interviewed that the information gathered would be shared and that they would be invited to a meeting to hear the results.

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4. A series of interviews undertaken by Angus Cranston, a student in the Masters course in Planning with the technical advisory group confirms these comments. See Angus Cranston. "The Role of the Technical Advisory Group", unpublished working paper, Institute of Urban Studies.



Information gathered from the visits was useful in portraying characteristics of the area that had not been shown in previous studies. For example, it found that about 33% of the property was resident owned, that the fair degree of change in homes by residents was always in the general inner-city area, that much of the social and leisure activity was concentrated in the area. This suggested that there was greater community related action and attachment than was normally portrayed by previous studies, which tended to emphasize the pathology of the area, not its strong points.<sup>5</sup> These findings emphasized the possibility of community renewal action.

Toward the end of February, as the students completed their visits and as a number of return calls were made to residents who wanted to become involved in renewal programs, it became apparent that residents were interested in coming together to take some action. Accordingly, it was decided that a meeting should be called in the area so members of the technical advisory group could supply information on the area and on proposed planning decisions that were being considered, such as the use of the Midland Railway site, the proposed new bridge across the CPR, the expansion of hospital facilities in the area.

A meeting was scheduled for March 6th at Hugh John Macdonald School, a junior high school in the area. Students and field workers revisited families and a hand bill was delivered announcing the meeting. A group of residents played a major role in planning the meeting.

Close to 200 people attended the meeting, drawn from a potential 1,200 households. The first part of the meeting involved a discussion of the reports presented by the technical advisors on the results of the survey,

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5. See - Survey Results - Institute of Urban Studies. Roosevelt Park Demonstration Project. *u. p. 100-101. See also many papers.*

the land use of the area, the possible planning decisions that were pending and some directions that a citizens' group could take. A strong sense of frustration was expressed by many residents over the history of broken promises and unmet expectations, along with a willingness to do something. The posture taken by the IUS fieldworkers and technical advisory people was that something could be done, but only if the residents were willing to take the initiative. If there was this willingness, then the resources of IUS and the technical advisors would be available to help. The meeting concluded with a decision to form an ad hoc committee and some 30 to 40 people said they would be prepared to work on the committee.

#### The People's Committee

This began the next phase of development in Roosevelt Park. There was now the embryo of a residents' group prepared to take action. The make-up of this group was mixed. There were both landlords and tenants, local businessmen and housewives and members of different ethnic groups.

The first meetings of this group, called the People's Committee, primarily dealt with specific issues in the area, i.e. the ultimate use of the Midland Railway property, the proposed Sherbrook - McGregor bridge, the lack of housing in the area, the poor recreation facilities, the problem of older people. These meetings were attended by 15 to 20 people and discussion ranged over many topics without any real decision on priorities or on development strategies. They met in a storefront building at 149 Isabel St. that was supplied by IUS. An additional task decided by the group was to print a community newsletter supplying information on the area.

At the same time, a "brainstorming session" was held at the faculty of architecture of the University of Manitoba, organized by the architects on the technical group. The purpose was to involve a wide range

of students, professionals and residents in a discussion of possible planning strategies. Many ideas were discussed, some of which, notably a concept of in-fill housing and the redevelopment of the commercial strip, later became ideas promoted by the People's Committee.

Following this, a series of home visits was organized in the area at which professionals from the technical group met with residents in their own homes to discuss needs, concerns and interests. This was an interesting, at times troublesome, but useful experiment. It began to break down many of the barriers that often exist between professionals and laymen, especially low-income laymen. In addition, newsletters were prepared in different languages, providing information on the area and experiments were tried using video tape as a means of providing information, especially to people who could not read or speak English with facility.

#### The Apartment Move

In early April, it was noticed by one of the IUS field-workers that the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was planning to demolish several buildings about 10 blocks from the Roosevelt Park area. This was brought to the attention of the People's Committee and they decided it offered an opportunity to take some explicit action to improve housing in the area.<sup>6</sup> At the same meeting (April 27th) that this was discussed, a family of eight who lived in the area asked if the People's Committee could help them obtain immediate accommodation.

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6. A full report on this aspect of the apartment block moving is contained in a report by IUS staff members. See Lawrie Cherniack and Eric Barker, A Report on 610 Ross, Institute of Urban Studies Report on the Roosevelt Park Demonstration Area.

This highlighted the need for new housing in the area. The People's Committee decided at the meeting to ask Metro to delay awarding tenders on the buildings until the committee could look into moving them. At the following meeting, after discussions with the technical committee, the decision was taken to buy the buildings, move them into the area and renovate them for use as low-income housing.

This decision to buy the apartment block was made because it seemed to answer some basic concerns of the area. The People's Committee had discussed what could be done to halt the attrition of housing stock in the area and to provide good accommodation for families. The apartment block represented a way of solving these problems, so they decided to proceed.

Then ensued an intensive period of activity for the People's Committee. It involving extended negotiations with four levels of government, a decision to incorporate as a non-profit development company, the working out of the technical problems of financing and managing the apartment block that was to be moved and the actual moving, renovation of the block and selection of tenants. Each of these activities revealed noteworthy aspects of how a citizens' group operates.

(a) Government Negotiations: Meetings were held with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation officials after Metro agreed to delay tenders. MHRC reports indicated it was not feasible to move the buildings. With the assistance of their technical advisors, the People's Committee prepared documents showing that it was feasible and the minister responsible for housing accepted their estimates. This demonstrated both the value and necessity of having experienced resource people available.

The potential users of this device of incorporation are many and it can become a major technique for combining the necessary elements in neighbourhood improvement. It is a way of using an institution that has been highly successful in developing private enterprise for neighbourhood or community enterprise. It is a form of social technology that can be used to better manage our cities and provide the necessary legal instrument which can give neighbourhoods more control over the planning and conduct of their affairs.<sup>8</sup>

(c) Moving and Renovating: Once approval was received by the provincial government and a piece of private land purchased (the city refused to give city-owned land as they maintained that the land should not be used until a renewal plan had been developed), it was decided that only one of the structures should be moved - a 110-ton apartment block containing six suites. The other buildings had become unusable due to vandalism during the delay.

Moving and renovating an apartment block involved the People's Committee in a number of complicated administrative and technical tasks - securing building permits, arranging with streets and traffic for moving the building, preparing the site, etc. To help in this effort, the People's Committee hired a full-time architect, paid for by the Institute, but responsible to members of the committee. But, much of the work was done by the members themselves.

The benefits of this activity were that the citizens in the group began to develop skills in management and administration and became aware of all the pitfalls, of rules and regulations that must be followed to take some form of action in a modern city.

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8. For a full discussion of the use of neighbourhood corporations see Milton Kotler, Neighbourhood Government Bobbs - Merrill, New York, 1969.

An added benefit occurred during the period of renovation. Several neighbourhood people and students from R. B. Russell Technical School volunteered to work on the renovation and appeared to gain satisfaction in doing so. It illustrates that community participation does not have to be limited to decision making. It can actually involve people in direct work of improvement, a variation on the old community barn-raising activities of rural communities. This kind of involvement is just as important and as beneficial as decision making and should be a basic point of any self-help program.

Another area of major importance discovered by the People's Committee is the problem of management and service of low-income housing. How are tenants selected, what are the relations between citizens groups and tenants, who performs repairs? This is an area of exploration still going on at 610 Ross and one that is still not resolved. The first ambition of the People's Committee was to have a very democratic and open relationship with tenants. For example, the lease was a product of negotiation between the building committee and tenants. But, the People's Committee at this stage are becoming more emphatic in their management and less open in their tenant relations.

The block was successfully moved in September of 1971 and an official opening held in December after renovations had been completed. The whole job, from decision by the People's Committee to acquire the block to the time people moved in, took 10 months. Six families are now in the block, paying monthly rent ranging from \$70.00 to \$90.00.

The effect of this particular activity by the People's Committee was basically positive. It had a stimulating effect upon the community. It symbolized that improvement can happen in an area where little improvement

has occurred and that the authors of the improvement can be residents themselves. It had a positive educative effect on the People's Committee. They learned a great deal, acquired skills and became a more identifiable group. On the other hand, as the IUS staff assessments show, this venture also taxed their resources and prevented them from undertaking other ventures. It also engendered friction between members of the group, caused in part by the publicity and public attention focussed on the group and a few of its members. This conflict continued through the months after the apartment block was over and ultimately involved the field-worker from IUS. The group ultimately resolved the difficulties, although it took a fair degree of time and energy to do so.

At the same time, it provided the chance to reduce the involvement of IUS staff in the project. In a series of meetings with the Institute, the People's Committee became independent from direct support, relying upon the Institute for resources only when required. The IUS role as a professional advisor has worked satisfactorily and makes the People's Committee one of the few groups that has cut the umbilical cord and survived without the services of a professional community worker.

In all, the apartment block project was an accomplishment and a useful demonstration of what a citizens' corporation can do, given the right resources, even though faced with a number of serious handicaps. It also provided a good testing ground for learning about neighbourhood improvement techniques, the attitudes and actions of government and the potential of participation.

## Government Competition

Simultaneous to their involvement with the apartment, the People's Committee was also engaged in a running skirmish with local government officials over the role of a citizen group in planning the area.

The focus of the debate was the Midland Railway yard, a strip of open land, tracks and warehousing bisecting Urban Renewal Area II. In 1969, it appeared that the city would purchase the yard, thus opening important development possibilities and eliminating a major constraint on federal-provincial involvement in renewal. At the same time, however, the Hellyer Task Force had recommended a halt to all renewal efforts and it appeared that federal assistance would be frozen. Thus the City of Winnipeg's planning officials were stymied, even though urged to proceed with plans for acquisition.

The People's Committee, after its formation, had begun promoting several development programs for the use of the Midland. They proposed the idea of using the warehousing sheds on the Midland property to provide a form of community mall for small stores and local services. They proposed a major senior citizens' housing project on the corner of Elgin Avenue and Isabel Street right across from the Midland. They spoke of new housing on the site of the Midland.

The city was unresponsive to these ideas. First, they said that nothing should be done in the area until the question of the Midland had been resolved and until their planners had drawn up a master plan for the area. In effect, the area, according to the city, should stay frozen.

Secondly, the city set up its own citizens group, which it claimed was the only legitimate spokesman for residents of Urban Renewal Area II.



The Citizen Steering Committee was made up of representatives of different groups involved in the inner city. The People's Committee had been asked to join, but had declined on grounds that this would limit their ability to act independently and reduce their ability to bargain and negotiate with the city. They felt that they were being co-opted.<sup>9</sup>

A competitive relationship grew up between the two committees, aided and abetted by the community workers attached to each group. The claim of the People's Committee that they should be allowed to work in one neighbourhood within Urban Renewal Area II and make direct representation to city officials was opposed by both the Steering Committee and staff of the Urban Renewal Department of the City of Winnipeg. The argument was that the city did not accept the notion of having multiple groups operating in their area, each with their own access to government. It is an argument often used by government officials. What it does not recognize is that what might be a bureaucratic standard of control, dealing with only one spokesman, may in fact impose artificial parameters on citizen development and restrict the growth of a pluralism of organizations, each of which perform an important function.

As mentioned in a previous essay, one of the prime ingredients in neighbourhood improvement or development is the creation of a number of community structures and organizations. Each of these fulfills a certain need and aids in the emergence of a more complex social system that can perform a greater variety of tasks.

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9. See Kenneth Clark & Marian Hopkins, A Relevant War Against Poverty. They show that American CAP programs invariably tried to defeat or co-opt independent citizens' groups. Interestingly, the only ones able to survive this were those who had third party support, similar to IUS support of the People's Committee.

The People's Committee pursued their independence by deciding to make an issue over the proposed Kinsmen Park. A local service club working with the city planning department and the Citizen Steering Committee proposed building a large-scale recreation complex on the Midland property. The People's Committee, looking at the proposal, felt that this was a poor use of the site. A large recreation complex would, in their opinion, not serve older people in the area, or families with young children, nor satisfy the need for housing. Their counter proposal was that the Midland be designed to include housing combined with smaller open spaces.

They publicized their position throughout the area and organized a demonstration on the Midland Railway site attended by only about 25 people. It was not a particularly successful move. But the ensuing publicity was embarrassing to the service club and a series of discussions were then initiated between the People's Committee and city officials. The result was that they gained recognition. Tacit admission was given by city officials that they would deal with different groups in the area.

This conflict with the city and the other citizen group was an additional pressure on the fledgling committee and again occupied a good deal of time and effort. It is another illustration of how the attitude and approach of different government departments has a strong bearing on the actions of a citizen planning organization. Too often government officials take the view of operating according to what is convenient to them. They do not see their relationship with the citizen group as a useful partnership which is good for the area. More often, it is an attitude of pained indulgence, which leads to finding reasons for not working with or encouraging groups. There are some simple steps that would improve the relationships of groups to governments. Rather than worrying about the number of citizens groups, government should be more concerned about developing a framework

within which different groups can operate. Rather than insisting on one spokesman for a citizen movement, government should set forth criteria for performance, stability and effectiveness that groups must meet to gain support. Rather than fixing on the "representative" nature of one group over another, government should be seeking to encourage pluralism, intervening to co-ordinate the different groups when it is necessary and providing the mechanisms which they can operate to make decisions.

The style of government response to citizen groups should not follow the standard 19th century-early 20th century theories of public administration and government organization. These theories emphasize hierarchial structures, executive centered decision making, strict division between public and private sectors, the insularity of the civil servant, the notion of someone "speaking for" or "representing" the public. Now, the emphasis must be on specific tasks and responsibilities, combining, in collegial fashion, government officials, private citizens and private resource groups such as universities. These combinations and the people who comprise them shift and change as the tasks alter.<sup>10</sup>

It will require, of course, a different form of government organization and a different type of public servant and politician. Yet, this approach is being seen by students of government and public administration as the way government must approach the problems of urban development.

Michael Svirdorf, former director of the human renewal programming in New Haven, reflecting on the failure of that city to master the problem of urban redevelopment, even though it had all the finances it needed, used

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10. See paper by Frederic Thayer, "Participation and Liberal Democratic Government" prepared for Committee on Government Productivity, Government of Ontario.

the best architects and planners available and utilized the most modern techniques of urban management, concluded that the only answer was a form of power sharing.

As he says:

"Power sharing is a fine art, which no mayor has figured out how to do. And there just are no easy ways. It means, in some cases, creating community-based corporations and delegating authority to those corporations. It means maybe decentralizing your school system and delegating a measure of authority and control to a locally-based group. It means setting up economic development corporations and putting some of your wealth into those corporations. It means allowing new leaders from the new groups - in this case the black groups - to emerge as leaders; it means providing them with the instruments for the development of leadership".<sup>11</sup>

His comments make sense for Winnipeg and other Canadian cities.

#### New Directions

The activities of the People's Committee were not confined just to the apartment block or the Midland Railway. They also sponsored a repainting of one of the area's commercial building clusters. In response to need, they were active in recruiting a new doctor for this area. They undertook a study of residents who were to be affected by the proposed Sherbrook - McGregor bridge. And, they have started to work on a program to retain the central library building that the city has decided to move from the area.

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11. As quoted in Fred Powledge, Model City, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 332.

As of the writing of this report, the People's Committee has launched another housing program. They have acquired a \$10,000 fund from the Winnipeg Foundation to be used to improve housing in the area. The plan is for the committee to acquire older homes or build new ones for area residents, using equity from the fund and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation mortgages. Their ability to handle their program will determine their viability as an independent group and further establish the role that a self-help corporation can play in the inner city.

Equally important, the experience with the inner city that the Institute acquired from its work with the People's Committee has enabled it to assist a number of other groups and develop several new initiatives in neighborhood improvement. It was a seed-bed, out of which has grown a series of related developments. For example:

- . A rehabilitation company, employing 25 men under the Local Initiatives Program, is at work repairing older homes and training unemployed men in construction skills;

- . An experimental in-fill housing program has been developed in conjunction with the National House Builders. A group of area residents is involved in the project, helping with design, in return for an option to purchase the experimental low-income units;

- . A local church, St. Andrews, is developing a combined housing, multi-purpose social service complex on the site of a burned out church. A corporation involving both neighborhood residents and church people will manage the project;

- . A health action committee, residents concerned about health problems, has been organized and is now involved in an educational and organizational process.

Aside from these efforts directly involving the Institute of Urban Studies, other agencies and groups have also been affected by the initial work in Roosevelt Park. There is now a more extensive range of organizing going on in that area, and many of the techniques and methods, such as the concept of non-profit corporations, the use of VTR as an organizing tool, are being utilized.

There remain many unanswered questions. One major one is how the different citizen groups in the inner city will relate to and use the new system of city government that came into effect in Winnipeg on January 1, 1972. This new system has a structure of decentralized decision making called community committees. The question is, does the community committee become become the focal part of decision making at the community level with the citizen groups being absorbed into the resident advisory committees, or do the citizen groups retain their autonomy and use the community committee as a mechanism for co-ordination? This will have to be one of the major issues faced in the near future.

Equally important will be the question of how the proposed neighborhood improvement program of the federal government will affect the operation of the People's Committee and other groups. The critical question here is whether such a program will establish administrative rules that will hamper the development of different kinds of self-help organizations in the inner city. The record of model city programs in the United States indicates that the problem of working out mutually beneficial relationships between agencies of all three levels of government and citizen run corporations is very troublesome.

If there is too great an emphasis placed on the idea of accountability or representation, which some news reports suggest may be the case, then this could stifle the pluralism of organizations and approaches that seem to be required. Such standards are not applied to business firms seeking loans and grants for economic development. There is no reason why they should be applied to citizen development corporations.

On the other hand, the experience in Roosevelt Park suggests that there should be a rationalization of the approaches used by government in dealing with proposals from citizen groups. For example, in Winnipeg, if there were a joint municipal, provincial, federal, co-ordinating group which would handle development requests and work out the most effective forms of assistance, it might be aided by private citizens or other institutions in providing judgement on the use of the money and on the kind of help needed. This, in a small scale, is what is now being worked out with the housing funds set aside for the People's Committee by the Winnipeg Foundation. A trustee arrangement is being employed involving the foundation, the Institute of Urban Studies and private citizens.

### Conclusion

The work in Roosevelt Park is by no means completed. Each day of activity in the area opens many new options for new enterprises. Some improvements have been brought about by the past two years of work. The basis has been laid for more beneficial changes, but there are still many areas of work that remain.

The experience thus far, however, has demonstrated the potential for a better approach to the improvement and revival of our inner city. It has shown that citizens can act in their own behalf, that the residents or neighbourhood citizens can make plans for the area, that there are many community resources available to assist in these pursuits and that new organizational forms for community renewal can be employed.

What are most apparent are both the difficulty and importance of the task. The renewal of an inner city neighbourhood is not a simple job of bricks and mortar. It is a job of reshaping and energizing a human community to provide the mixture of resources that enables people to find answers to their problems. If the way to do that can be found, then a major step forward has been made in helping Canadians manage and organize their affairs in this urban age.